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1. IN THE NEWS

Upon completion of its 3-yr. \$4 million program to clarify the problems of freedom in America, Fund for the Republic will probably expire. ***Ford F. announced \$5.5 millions in overseas grants, among which \$450 M to U. of Bologna for Grad. School of Public Admin. (begun by U. of Cal. & State Dept. in '54). ***\$100 M went to equip Indonesian gov't. universities, \$250 M to exchange faculty & students with Poland. ***Carnegie Corp. describes its varied African activities in July '58 report. ***Vanderbilt U.'s Grad. Training Program in Ec. Devel. received \$300 M from Rockefeller F. for 8 yrs. work. ***RF also gave \$142 M to Nuffield College, Oxford, for research fellows; it aided the Indian School of Int'l. Studies at New Delhi, the Institute of Pol. Sci. of U. of Pavia, Kyoto U. and Doshisha U. in Japan, and American Institute at Uof Munich, all of which have political science interests. ***Rockefeller F. gave \$125 M for 6 yrs. to the School of Int'l. Affairs at Columbia U., \$10 M to the Harvard Grad. School of Public Admin. to study scientific research resources. ***Free Univ. of Berlin received \$1 million from Ford F. to strengthen its academic program. ***The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, announced publication of annual International Yearbook of Political Behavior Research, each volume to deal with a single major research area: Vol. 1, Janowitz, ed., Community Power Systems (1959); Vol. 2, Marvick, ed., Political Recruitment and Mobility (1960). ***Int'l. Poli. Sci. Ass'n. subjects at Rome Congress, Sept. 16-20, 1958, will be: interest groups, control of public enterprise, executive-legislative relations, international conflicts, local governments, theory and practice in poli. sci.

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2. The Trade Union in the Political Community

A study on the involvement of unions in urban political affairs, currently going forward, selects specific issues from which a general picture of trade union influence and activity and its consequences can be gleaned. Emphasis is upon the "gray area" of combined public-private decision-making, as, e.g., urban re-development. San Francisco Bay Area cities are the foci of study.

The American trade union has been of special interest to political scientists for a long time, particularly as an active pressure group in American politics and as a private association whose internal government and hierarchical structure present research possibilities along the lines suggested by Michels in his *POLITICAL PARTIES* and developed recently in such studies as *UNION DEMOCRACY*, by S. M. Lipset. In addition, some political scientists who have a specialty in constitutional law have concerned themselves with the problem of government regulation of unions or with labor legislation itself. But there have been few if any studies that have examined the trade union at the community level in terms of its political involvement in urban affairs and its participation in the decision-making process. The explanation is clear. For the major part of its existence the trade union movement in this country has spent its major energy in becoming organized and in slowly convincing the business community that labor has a primary role to play in the success or failure of our economic system. Political scientists, especially in the 'thirties and early 'forties, were among those who were interested in investigating and telling the story of this exciting phase of labor's growth and development. Today, however, the unions have passed out of infancy and have reached a kind of economic self-confidence in their new adulthood; they are now suddenly involved in the political and civic affairs of the entire community.

Or are they? To what extent do the unions in a city like Detroit or Chicago or San Francisco participate in formulating policy regarding, say, the construction of freeways or the establishment of rapid-transit systems? When an issue involving discrimination in local public housing arises, what role specifically does labor play? There has been a not inconsiderable amount of literature over the years depicting the influence and power of business leaders and groups in American communities, to the point where one now talks in terms of the "power structure" of a given city or metropolitan area. What is the place of the trade union in this picture today? In very general terms these are some of the questions which underlie a current study of the Trade Union in the Political Community as a result of a two-year grant from the Ford Foundation (Fund For The Republic). This project is one of several being conducted by different social scientists in the general area of labor and community relations, and is part of a larger enterprise entitled "The Rights of Industrial Man" under the direction of Clark Kerr (President of the University of California).

Three assumptions were made in the original formulation of this particular project: (a) that the "political community" encompasses much more than political parties, elective officials and administrative agencies; (b) that much can be learned about the role of trade unions (including both union leaders and the rank-and-file) from an analysis

of selected issues within a given community; and (c) that the rights of individuals in the entire community are seriously affected by the attitudes and behavior of trade union leaders and members in supporting or opposing specific community programs, agencies and institutions. These rights may be traditional or informal or both, and the individuals affected may be union members or non-union members or both.

Among the "rights of industrial man," especially as they pertain to a social order that is highly industrialized, are those which make it possible for the individual not only to perceive the complexities involved in social change but also to play a part in the direction of that change. Rights have been traditionally stated in negative terms and viewed as legal or political safeguards to protect the individual from the use of arbitrary power by groups and organizations or by the State itself. It seems more realistic, however, to view the individual not so much as a lone atom in a confusing universe but as a member of a society, constantly changing, with rights that need to be restated and exercised in accordance with the demands and options of an urbanized way of life.

But societal change in our large metropolitan areas takes many forms and is a response to a variety of different pressures. Citizens may participate in the political process by joining the party of their choice or making known their feelings directly to the public officials concerned. Yet the determination of public policy involves considerably more than interested individuals and groups working through the formal political and governmental machinery. Local boards of supervisors, for example, are sensitive not only to the ballot box but to a wide range of influence, persuasion, bargaining and power in which private groups and organizations play a decisive part from one day

to the next. It is in this "gray area" that a disproportionate amount of power may be wielded by some groups and individuals rather than by others. To talk of "decision-making," therefore, is to understand at the outset that ambiguity is one of its major characteristics if for no other reason than the fact that some of the most crucial "public" decisions are neither public nor private. Belknap, in another on-going study of power relations in community decision-making in the San Francisco Bay Area, has uncovered considerable evidence in this regard in his investigation of the business community. If one takes such a pressing problem as urban re-development, it is clear that the shape of such a program is not simply the result of an electoral choice or even of a public administrative decision. It is the result, rather, of intricate relations between public officials, private builders, neighborhood groups, and others.

It is in this area, "partly public, partly private," that we are interested in the role of labor. The presumption is made that business leaders and groups have not only more pervasive influence in the general community but far greater access to the "tension points" of the decision-making process. The fraternity of businessmen, financiers, and publishers in all of our urban centers is not a closely guarded secret. This is not to say, however, that these advantaged groups and individuals continuously exercise such power and influence that there are no opportunities for other groups and individuals to participate. If Hunter's portrait of a near monopoly of business-financial power is accurate for Regional City, it is still very much an open question whether or not the decision-making process in other urban centers is not frequently characterized by routine and chance. Kaufman and Jones have already suggested the possibility

"that life in Regional City would continue in much the same direction and at much the same tempo as at present even if all forty of the leaders identified by Hunter disappeared one night."¹ It is in this general context, then, that we approach the problem of labor's involvement or non-involvement in community affairs.

A number of relevant questions are immediately posed. To what degree can union members acting through labor organizations have a share in urban decision-making? Apart from the ability of a union member to affect public affairs simply as a member of an electorate, to what extent can he affect public affairs in the complicated interplay of groups and organizations in an urban setting? Looking at group processes from another aspect, to what extent do labor organizations supply leadership and individual participation in public affairs?

The problem of the extent of labor participation, while important in itself, becomes even more significant when the factors associated with high or low involvement are analyzed. In examining labor participation as an independent variable, the concern is with those differences in community life which seem to result from high or low labor involvement (or particular patterns of involvement). But in viewing labor involvement as a dependent variable, the attempt can be made to isolate the factors, either within labor organizations or in the community at large, which seem to produce high or low involvement.

Our initial findings confirm what was already indicated by preliminary research as well as

1. Kaufman, Herbert, and Victor Jones, "The Mystery of Power," Public Administration Review (Summer, 1954), p. 207.

what one might expect to be the case, namely, that there is a generally low degree of involvement of labor unions at the community level. A number of reasons for expecting little labor involvement come quickly to mind. The tradition in many American cities of non-partisan government deprives organized labor of the political party as a vehicle for civic action. Given the fluid condition of power in the absence of political party structuring of the urban scene, it is not surprising to find power and leadership lodged in upper-status, financially powerful people. The very recent attainment of major trade-union goals within industry reminds us of how little time has been available for labor to take its place among the decision-making groups at the urban level. The Gompers tradition within the American labor movement has helped blunt the edge of political protest and action as a means of achieving labor's goals. And when labor has been prepared to exert some force, it is because it has seen the need for political organization--for example, (in addition to the national arena) in the State capitol where labor-supported appointments can be made by the Governor or in the State legislature where decisions important to labor are made regarding the disposition of State and federal funds.

In spite of the low degree of labor participation in urban public affairs, some variance would be expected among American cities depending on such obvious factors as the level of labor organization prevailing among the unions within a city and the concentration of power in groups other than labor (as opposed to dispersal over many groups). Consequently between four and six urban centers in the San Francisco Bay Area will be selected for study, two of which will be in the "above 100,000 population" class. Unions to be

investigated will be selected on the bases of type of industry, kind of union organization, ethnic and religious components, length of residence in the community, size, economic base and political complexion of the community, etc., with the view of undertaking a comparative analysis of their relations with political, governmental, religious, educational, business and civic elements in the community. Interviews will be conducted with officials of Labor Councils and selected locals as well as some rank-and-file interviewing to determine attitudes and expectations with respect to leadership behavior. There will also be interviews with government officials, leading industrial, financial and communications leaders, and with leaders of the so-called "liberal-labor" alliance to gain impressions and descriptions of barriers to the participation of labor in urban affairs. Finally, in proposing the investigation of labor's actual and potential role in the political community the following considerations, formulated here in the way of tentative questions, seem central to the study:

1. Does a high degree of trade-union attainment of its traditional goals bring an increase in the need to set other goals? When trade unions have become organized to the point where their economic bargaining power in the community is strong, do the leaders (or those aspiring to be leaders) set other organization goals in order to maintain existing union leadership or do they perhaps replace it with other leaders?

2. To what degree does the

setting and seeking of community goals for labor depend on the quality of leadership prevailing in unions and in their federations? For example, are union leaders who have been selected because of skills exhibited in intra-plant situations equipped to deal with extra-plant affairs?

3. To what degree do the characteristics of trade-union leaders set the possible extent of labor participation in public affairs? Is there any evidence that varying degrees of organizational maturity affect the potential of civic leadership among the trade unions?

4. Will the perceived, as well as the actual, leadership structure within a community affect the degree of labor involvement in urban public affairs? Does labor have a picture of certain groups "running" the city which reinforces a conviction that their participation is likely to be ineffectual?

5. Do labor leaders tend to think of community affairs in a frame of reference established by national issues, thereby limiting their ability to act jointly in urban affairs with businessmen, publishers, and other non-labor groups? Do the interests of trade union members at the community level differ from those of the business community in ways similar to the differences which exist on national issues?

--John H. Bunzel
Stanford University

--George Belknap
University of California

3. A Comparative Study of Social Mobility, Its Causes and Consequences

A research team would interview weighted samples of USA, UK, and French populations on the values and facts of individual social movement and stratification. Here is the dynamic source of many problems of the age. Certain presumptions, such as of the high mobility rate in USA, need testing. Psychological, political, religious, and familial orientations of groupings with different mobility rates may reveal important distinctions.

Introduction

This memorandum contains a proposal for a study of the values and facts related to social mobility in the United States, Great Britain, and France. It grows out of an inventory of available knowledge in the field,¹ which suggests that a number of assumptions about the rates and consequences of social mobility in different countries may be invalid. For example, the available data do not support the popularly, as well as scholarly held assumption, that the rate of occupational social mobility is higher in the United States than in Europe. Some studies also indicate that a number of European countries may be as open, or as restrictive as the United States in permitting movement up and down the status structure.

The principal conclusion of this initial inventory, however, is that available research does not permit the establishment of particularly firm conclusions, since almost all of the existing studies were made in the context of analyzing one country, and the methods employed varied greatly. The

fact, however, that assumptions about the degree of equality which exist in different countries underlie much of the theorizing about variations in national behavior patterns, suggests the need for a centrally planned and controlled study of mobility in a number of countries, which would be designed to test hypotheses in the area of comparative analysis.

Background to the Study

Much of the writing in the general area of social stratification has been concerned with the problem of equality. Many men have pointed to the need for tenure in high status positions and the inheritance of social position as requirements for the stability of complex societies. The division of labor requires differential rewards in status and economic privilege as the means of motivating individuals to carry out the more difficult leadership or other roles requiring a great deal of intelligence or training. And given a system of differential rewards, the particularistic values which are a necessary part of family life require high-statused individuals to attempt to pass their privileged status to their children, thus creating a strain toward inequality.

Today, however, all industrial societies must encourage men from lower class origins to aspire to and attain higher positions. The economic structure of most modern nations cannot operate efficiently unless many men are

1. See S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley, U. of Calif. Press, 1958), espec. Chapter II, "Comparative Mobility" by Lipset and Zetterberg. This book brings together much of the available data on the causes, consequences and rates of mobility in various countries.

motivated to secure higher or at least different occupational positions from those held by their fathers. Modern society is thus faced with a dilemma; on one hand it must allow legitimate inherited privilege, while at the same time it must encourage the desire for mobility. A number of studies have suggested that those who fail to reach the positions their society induced them to aspire toward may represent a frustration potential which may be a seed-bed for social revolution. The contradiction of the patterns of aristocracy, inherited social position, and equality, all existing in the same society may also frustrate the economically successful. Many sociologists have pointed to the problems faced by men who successfully move up the economic ladder, but who are refused a claim to equal status by those who hold high position as a result of inheritance. It has been suggested that such "marginal men" have disproportionately formed the leadership cadre of many revolutionary movements from those of the French Revolution to contemporary totalitarian groups.

One general guiding assumption which emerges from much of the discussions and research in this area is that, many of the major political problems facing contemporary society are in part, at least, a consequence of the conflicts and tensions resulting from the contradictions inherent in the need for both aristocracy and equality. While there is much speculation and some research on this problem, almost all of it has been an attempt to analyze one country with little reference to others. Thus, some French observers have suggested that one reason for the strength of communism in their country is the frustration felt by French workers who desire to advance in status, but fail, while American political commentators have argued that a reason for the failure of socialism in this country is that most workers aspire to move out of the work-

ing class. Given the fact that available data indicate that the French and American workers have about the same statistical chance of succeeding in their aspirations, it is clear that either one or both of these hypotheses is wrong, or that factors other than the actual amount of opportunity are involved. It is a basic assumption of this proposal that we can gain more understanding of politics, class structure and social change in various countries by making a systematic comparative study of a number of them. Only with comparative materials can we reliably discern those factors in the social structure of a given country which are related to the problems of interest to us.

The need for new research may also be seen from an analysis of methodological or theoretical problems which have not been adequately treated in most of the existing studies. (1) Few of them recognize that social mobility is not a precise term. For example, they almost uniformly fail to distinguish between four types of mobility: -a- occupational mobility, that is, the extent to which a generation achieves occupations of lower, same or higher prestige than their parents; -b- power mobility, that is, the extent to which a generation wields less, same or more influence on political decisions than their parents; -c- status mobility, that is, the extent to which a generation associates intimately with persons of lower, same or higher prestige than their parents; -d- consumption mobility, that is, the extent to which a generation achieves lower, same or higher style of life than their parents. (2) The studies are generally not comparable since they vary both in the way in which they secure information about generational mobility, and in the classification of significant social strata used in their analyses. (3) Few studies deal with any indicator of mobility other than the difference between the occupations of fathers and sons. Thus, there is no way

of judging the amount of mobility which occurs within generations. (4) Few studies deal with the causes of consequences of social mobility. In large measure, studies of social mobility have been made in a theoretical vacuum. No hypotheses have been tested as to the conditions favorable to mobility, and no attempt has been made to verify hypotheses as to the conditions produced by different rates of mobility. (5) Almost all of the studies deal with objective rates of mobility. Few deal with the possible variations in attitudes toward mobility among different social strata in one country or among various countries.

The Scope of the Study

To deal adequately with the problems discussed above, it might be advisable to study social mobility, its causes and consequences, in three countries: the United States, Great Britain and France. These countries are selected as examples of different types of economic and social structures which will shed light on the relationship of social mobility to other aspects of the social structure. Some of the significant relevant differences among them are: (1) The United States represents an expanding industrial society characterized by strong beliefs in mobility. (2) Great Britain is also a major industrial society but presumed to place greater emphasis on inherited status. In recent years it has been making conscious efforts to increase opportunity for the working class. (3) France is a traditional society, less industrialized and less dominated by business values than the others. The working class supports a mass communist party.

In these countries the following variables might be the subjects of study.

A. Causes of mobility

1. Subjective factors: (a) What beliefs do people hold

about opportunity? Under this heading one would study the extent to which Americans, Englishmen, and Frenchmen perceive their societies as inviting social mobility. (b) What evaluations do people give some typical social positions? Under this heading one can find an answer to the query about what constitutes upward and downward mobility in the countries studied. (c) What expectations do people have as to mobility? Here one would establish and compare the aspirations of Americans, Englishmen, and Frenchmen. One would be able to discover, for example, whether Americans aim higher and plan their mobility more consciously than the Europeans. One would also be able to reveal differences in aspirations related to minority status or to membership in different political parties.

2. Objective factors: (a) A study of the extent of rural-urban migration would relate geographical mobility to social mobility. Perhaps social mobility often is an unplanned consequence of geographical mobility. (b) The amount of education is a classical vehicle of social mobility. (c) The type of family structure a country has may affect its mobility. We know that Americans marry younger and have children at an earlier age than Englishmen: does this dampen upward mobility in the United States as compared to England?

B. Rates of Social Mobility

1. Objective rates: (a) Occupational mobility; (b) Status mobility; (c) Consumption mobility; (d) Power mobility.

2. Subjective rates: The same as above, but based upon the individual's personal evaluation of his position as higher or lower than that of his parents. It would not be surprising if the subjective rates differ between countries whose objective rates are the same. Presumably, the subjective rates, then, will have psychological consequences which the objective rates cannot explain.

C. Consequences of Mobility

1. Psychological orientation: Here one would study whether there are more psycho-neurotic complaints and ethnic prejudices among the mobile population than the stationary one.
2. Political orientation: Here one would study the extent to which mobility implies a change of political reference groups. For example, would a successfully mobile son of a Socialist in Britain still vote with the Labor Party? Do upward and downward mobile persons hold extreme Right or Left views as some writers have speculated? Is downward mobility conducive to the joining of aggressive groups such as Communist Parties? Or, is downward mobility conducive to political apathy? These political consequences of mobility should constitute a major focus of our study.
3. Religious orientation: Here one would study the impact of upward and downward mobility on the recruitment of established churches and revivalist sects. It is particularly important to discover the conditions which tend to channel the tensions resulting from mobility into religious rather than political expressions.
4. Family orientation: In passing information can easily

be secured testing the common assumption that mobility makes for family discord and divorce. More important perhaps is to study the extent to which mobile parents bring up children to consolidate or improve their family's position in the stratification structure, thus pushing toward a more aristocratic system.

The Design of the Study

Interview data could be gathered in the United States, England, and France from samples of about 5,000 individuals in each country. Categories that are most important for the study should be over-sampled; that is, men, urbanites, and middle- and upper-class occupations. The size of the sample should be planned so that adequate representation is secured from key occupations, political parties, minority groups, and so forth.

A smaller part of the sample (approximately 400 cases) might be made part of what might be called a "generation panel." The individuals in the panel would be asked to give the name and address of their parents, if alive. The parents would then be interviewed. This design is aimed primarily at (1) the investigation of power mobility, that is, the changes in a family's position of influence in the community from generation to generation, and (2) the determination of the extent to which mobility is a result of conscious encouragement from the older generation rather than a by-product of structural changes in the society. (We expect more such "planned" mobility in the United States than in Europe.) In addition, the generation panel would furnish checks on the validity of the assumption that a given generation can report accurately about occupational, political, educational, etc., conditions of their parents. Such controls are highly desirable for the inter-

pretation of the data obtained from the larger sample. It is suggested that persons of 35-45 years of age form the basis for the "generation panel" since they are likely to be close to their peak social position, and since their parents are likely to be alive. Strictly speaking, the results obtained from the generation panel will not be generalized to the whole population but only to the population between 35 and 45 years of age who have at least one parent alive. Demographic data indicate that this category constitutes over two-thirds of the age group in the countries concerned.

A word should also be said about the method of comparison to be employed in the analysis. Usually when we are faced with a table showing that a given percent of males in certain occupations are of lower status origins, one does not know whether this proportion is relatively high or low. There are three types of comparison which can be made. The first is a comparison with the past, i.e., is there more or less social mobility today than in the past? The second type is a comparison of absolute mobility with other areas or countries; do more people in the U. S. move to higher occupations than in France or Great Britain? A third type is represented by a comparison with a model expressing equal opportunity. How nearly does a country approach the utopian concern for complete equality? Thinking of mobility in terms of equality rather than absolute rates leads us to recognize that there may be more absolute mobility in country A than in country B, and yet less equality of opportunity. For example, if a country is 90 percent peasant, even with completely equal opportunity, most children of peasants must remain peasants. Even if every non-peasant posi-

tion is filled by a peasant's son, only eleven percent of them could change their occupation. On the other hand, if a country undergoes rapid economic transformation and the proportion of non-manual positions increases to, say, one half of all positions, then fifty percent of the children of manual workers would have to secure non-manual work in order to meet the criterion of equality. We see it as part of this project to develop a simple model to make feasible such comparisons in terms of equality.

The Administration and Cost of the Study

The fieldwork could be subcontracted to national agencies in the three countries. A study of the type envisioned would require perhaps three years, and cost approximately 200,000 dollars. The first six months would be devoted to planning the study, drawing up the schedule and pre-testing it, and making agreements with different research organizations to handle the interviewing. The study should be in the field approximately three to four months, and another three to four months would be required for coding the interviews and transferring the data to IBM cards. Thus the data should be ready for analysis twelve to fourteen months after the start of the project. The remaining time of approximately two years would be used for analysis and write-up of the materials. The scope of the study and the skills required suggest that it would be best undertaken by a research team, rather than by an individual scholar-in-charge.

--Seymour M. Lipset
University of California, Berkeley
--Hans L. Zetterberg
Columbia University

4. Philosophy and the Public Interest

To encourage productive research in political philosophy the Committee to Advance Original Work in Philosophy is developing a document on the theory of the "public interest," including how "public interest" is used to justify social control, governmental services, and non-profit activities of corporations.

The Committee to Advance Original Work in Philosophy has completed plans for a program that is designed to encourage philosophical contributions to the theory of the public interest. As mentioned in the May, 1958, issue of *PROD*, this Committee is an agency of the Western Division of the American Philosophical Association. During the past five years the Committee has sponsored various conferences and administered a research-grant program in an effort to stimulate more productive investigations. During 1958-59 the Committee's major undertaking will be in the field of political philosophy.

In the first phase of the year's program a document will be developed, reviewing the contexts in which "public interest" doctrines occur and raising questions about the relevance of philosophical methods and concepts to the discussion. In its preliminary studies the Committee discovered that many teachers of philosophy are interested in political and legal problems, but hesitate to publish because they wonder whether they are overlooking something that is obvious to specialists. The document is intended to reduce the philosopher's difficulty in this respect.

The first draft of the document is being prepared, during the summer of 1958, by Professors Wayne Leys of Roosevelt University and Charner Perry of the University of Chicago. In September and October the draft will be submitted to consultants in law, public administration, trade association work, etc., for suggestions and criticisms. The document will then be

revised and circulated among the members of the Western Division of the Philosophical Association.

The second phase of the year's program will begin with a symposium at the Division's annual meeting at the University of Wisconsin at the beginning of May, 1959. The Committee will then study the prepared papers and the general discussion of the symposium, with a view to recommending next steps.

The tentative outline of the document, which is now in preparation, is as follows:

I. "Public Interest" as a justification for governmental regulation and for the kinds of social control found in trade associations and professional societies: (Sections on the public utilities, the use of police power to protect safety, health and morals; the licensing of occupations; "conflict-of-interest" rules for public officials; "conflict-of-interest" rules for professionals and businessmen.)

II. "Public Interest" as a justification for governmental services and for non-profit activities of corporations; also for unusual powers in the performance of such services: (Sections on the common defense, public improvements, charitable activities, etc.)

III. Skepticism and dogmatism with reference to "the public interest" as found in legal and administrative literature.

IV. Philosophical notions and methods that may be relevant: (Reference will be made to some

traditional philosophies as well as to instrumentalism, logical empiricism, the "ordinary language" philosophers, existentialism, etc.).

The expense of the program has been underwritten by a grant of the Rockefeller Foundation. Communications should be ad-

dressed to Wayne A. R. Leys, Chairman of the Committee to Advance Original Work, 430 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago 5, Illinois.

--Wayne A. R. Leys
Roosevelt University

5. Public Personnel Selection and Value Theory

A positive relation probably holds between tenure and efficacy of public servants, and preferences for non-material values. A test along these lines would provide government service with a screening tool.

In 1938 Gordon W. Allport stated that, "The greatest failing of the psychologist at the present time is his inability to prove what he knows to be true."¹ Perhaps, in 1958, the discipline of psychology has advanced to some extent beyond this observation, but its validity is still applicable not only to psychology, but to all of the social sciences as well.

With this thought in mind, an hypothesis is advanced which has yet to be proved. After a sketch of this hypothesis, some problem areas in public personnel administration will be indicated to which the hypothesis might be directed as a partial aid.

The hypothesis, in rough-cut form, is: There is a high correlation between extended length of service and efficacious public service performed by a public employee and the degree to which his value preference schedule is oriented toward non-material values. By length of service I refer to the length of calendar time spent by an individual in the employ of a governmental unit. By efficacious public service I refer to his atti-

tudes toward the work he performs while in the employ of the governmental unit, the rewards for which do not accrue to him, in a direct or indirect tangible sense, from a specific individual or a special interest group affected by the activity. Or, put another way, the individual's orientation is toward "genuine" public service, and any rewards he receives from his work are intangible (except for wages or salary) and internalized. By non-material values I refer to those values in an individual's value preference schedule whose objective or subjective realization is never a tangible one, but rather intangible in nature. By value preference schedule I refer to an hierarchical ordering of the individual's values on a preferential basis--the most important values appearing at the top of the order, and so on.

Any attempt to demonstrate the validity of the above hypothesis would confront several hazards. But such an attempt would necessitate at least the following. (1) The determination of the "ideal" value preference schedule of the public employee. This could perhaps be accomplished by determining the value preference schedules of those public employees whose tenure of service was considerable

1. Allport, Gordon W. The Nature of Personality: Selected Papers (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1950), p. 204.

in length, and whose service to the public was considered "efficacious" --and then the construction of a profile on the basis of these results. (2) A testing mechanism to determine the value preference schedule of prospective public employees. This task should not be too difficult. --personality, vocational, social, educational, and other areas of psychological testing have developed a number of relatively valid tests for their own specific purposes. The Allport-Vernon study of values might well be adjusted to meet this purpose. And, (3) a method for re-evaluating and revalidating the "ideal" value preference schedule.

In addition, but not so important, to these three tasks might be added the highly relevant ones of (4) the definition of the values appearing in the "ideal" value preference schedule. This is a semantic problem the resolution of which is necessary in order to secure accurate communication. (5) The construction of a testing mechanism which has a high degree of face validity, but which is not transparent. Although relevant, this is a familiar obstacle to those in the field of psychological testing. And, (6) an assessment of the value preference schedule of the public to be served by the public employee. Among many there is perhaps sufficient reason to suspect a possible conflict between the "ideal" value preference schedule and the value preference schedule of the public to be served. There are perhaps several ways to resolve this possible conflict, one of which would destroy the usefulness of the hypothesis altogether.

The hypothesis will appear to many to be a self-evident one. Further, one could submit that, not only do academics in the field of public administration agree with its general validity,² but that per-

sonnel agencies and recruiting personnel, when using the interview technique, consciously or unconsciously search for a public service attitude on the part of the examinee. But self-evident truths are oft-times of little use operationally. Common-sense has its uses. But if we are to use common-sense as a precise tool of analysis it must needs be empirically refined. If this hypothesis could be accurately demonstrated, at least in terms of probability, governmental employment agencies would have an additional excellent tool to use in providing the public service with personnel whom they could be more assured would have a public service attitude and who would, in all probability, remain in governmental employment for a longer period of time than the present norm.

The beneficial results of such a screening tool would be two-fold. In the first place, recruiting on this basis would cut down on turnover--the bane of many governmental units. Cost savings from this item alone, when one considers the expenditures allocated for recruiting, selection, transfers, etc., would be appreciable. In the second place, the public could be more assured of being served by public employees who hold the interests of the public as a first priority, and not the material interests of the self, or of a special group.

Another important aspect of this hypothesis relates to the academic training of prospective governmental employees. As a counselling tool for those who direct and teach public administration programs, the determination of a student's value preference schedule could serve to counsel him in or out of the program. Whether values are absolute or relative, it is

2. "In my judgment no one can serve the public as it should be served by a governmental official unless he has a public-interest attitude with certain

special characteristics." Appleby, Paul H., *Big Democracy* (N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), p. 3.

quite true that the ultimate goal of an individual is the realization of his values. The obligation of counselling, once having appraised these values, is to advise the individual about those areas of life activity where his values will have the highest probability of attainment. In screening and advising, then, the university public administration programs could become of greater assistance to governmental employment agencies.

By advocating the proof and refinement of this hypothesis it is

not suggested that its use should supersede the use of other tools of analysis (intelligence tests, etc.) in the recruitment and selection of governmental employees. On perhaps a multiple correlation basis, however, its results should be given significant cognizance. With an eye toward the prospective rewards of this hypothesis, it would seem a worthwhile effort, on the part of competent individuals, to explore its possibilities for all it is worth.

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6. A Case of Cultural Organization

(The Forming of the Italian Social Science Association)¹

A strong, positivist attack against traditional Italian social study and its determining intellectual environment. Some of PROC's readers may recognize many conditions as true of America today, and wonder at Dr. Pizzorno's ("provincial") belief that he is writing only about Italy.

The events leading to the formation of the AISS (Associazione italiana di scienze sociali) represent one of the most interesting of recent efforts in the field of cultural organization in Italy. The pathological conditions from which the development has occurred are well-known. Twenty years of fascist dictatorship and fifty years of virtual dictatorship by petty idealism consigned a large part of Italian culture and social science to the grip of an exasperating provincialism, in which ignorance passes for soundness, that swaggers about ostentatiously observing laboriously revived national traditions, that places an impotent reliance on intuition and refuses to learn the specific techniques of research, of a rugged individualism blind to all problems of research organization, and above all else, an unabashed, patrician

contempt for any scientific--hence public and general--treatment of the data of field knowledge.

It is understandable when industrially underdeveloped countries of partially pre-capitalistic structure reject the systematic organization of knowledge of society. In such cases, the know-how and directive functions are transmitted traditionally and intuitively. The only formative culture is based on class and is of a type now humanistic, now historical-traditional, which represents only a first halting step beyond culture of mythological content. The only organized social institution is that of civil law. The only status acceptable to intellectuals is that of the privileged aristocratic group, or of individualistic rebellion. In Italy, fascism and idealism have helped to prolong such a situation, at least in its larger out-

1. Extracts from Pizzorno, Alessandro, "Un'iniziativa per l'organizzazione della cultura: l'Associazione italiana di scienze sociali." Passato e Presente (May-June, 1958), pp. 386-92.

lines, even though the metamorphosing economic-social environment gave promise of the spread of modern culture. Let it here be emphasized before the opportunity to do so is lost, that anyone inclined to equate the rapid spread of leftist culture (following upon liberation from fascism) with evolution beyond the traditional cultural attitudes would be sadly mistaken. Thus, the nationalism, the resurgent Croce-ism, the socialist heraldry, the unscholarly historicism, the rejection of social science in favor of intuition in ethics and politics, evidence openly the old cultural lag.

It is necessary to detail all of this if an insight is to be gained into the timid, uncertain and often confused efforts now being made to resume sociological studies. Centers and institutes of social research are shooting up everywhere, but they have no contact with each other, have no common terminology or frame of reference; the scope and applicability of their work is not stabilized, nor is it clearly defined. Hence, the results obtained are not in general practical, and do not form a pattern. Abundant data are now being gathered on social conditions, but their use is almost always in connection with single research aims, casual explicit or implicit hypotheses, i.e., hypotheses derived or derivable from a body of observed facts. Similarly with the techniques of research: when these are not outrightly invented, they are re-interpreted by the research workers, with a consequent waste of energy and time easily imagined. A literary or journalistic flavor pervades many of the current writings, at times with profound effect, but it jeopardizes the value of and prevents repetition of the experiences. This quality is often traceable to backgrounds of the researchers in journalism or avant garde writing. Researching and interviewing may represent to them more or less consciously a continuation of previous experiences and inter-

ests, a systematic neo-realism for some, or for others a kind of depth-reporting. Such backgrounds, compounded with others in philosophy or politics or other extractions, have probably set a higher level of enthusiasm, intelligence and open-mindedness than would have been achieved by a corps of university-trained specialists. But in practice this makes for disparities, unbalances, dispersions and misunderstandings that are almost insurmountable. Add to this the confusion between sociological research on the one hand and social work or activities of human organization on the other, and one has a not very consoling picture of the difficulties which beset any organization of the social sciences in Italy.

Into this picture stepped a group intent upon regrouping all the social research workers in Italy. . . . In cooperation with the International Sociology Association (UNESCO), it was decided to try to form an association that should constitute its Italian section. This was a year and a half ago. Since then the Association has flourished vigorously, has agitated academic and field circles, has met with other associations, and aroused numerous and active sympathies as well as conflict and distrust. It has won the support of pre-existing centers and organizations, among which might be mentioned the especially active and extensive Center for Social Prevention and Defense (Enrico De Nicola, President), which had maintained for several years a sociology section, directed until his death by Antonio Banfi. . . .

The Association's activities have clarified a number of problems in the Italian cultural situation, a few of which may be summarized here.

1. The Interdisciplinary Problem. Despite much resistance, the Association chose the words "social sciences" and not

"sociology" in its name, even though it is affiliated with the International Sociological Association. It wished therewith to affirm the unity of social phenomena, and hence the necessity for collaboration among the various disciplines in research planning. It wished also to surmount the obstacle of the quantitative scarcity of "sociologists" in Italy.

The emergence of new disciplines from the body of the traditional ones is always a positive sign of the advancement of science. On the other hand, the opposite necessity, that of revising the boundaries among the various academic disciplines, and stabilizing points and coordinates, presents itself when there is an excessive amount of abstraction from single disciplines of the corresponding field problems, and when separations that are born as casual or temporary conventions rigidify and crystallize.

In America, for example, there is a strong tendency toward integration of the disciplines. It stems in concrete form from the constitution into the universities of departments of social sciences in which the program of study, the courses, and the seminars are all coordinated; and from the formation of research centers or groups in which specialists from various disciplines collaborate. In the theoretical field the work of Talcott Parsons is notable as a monumental, laborious, if at times over-complex, effort to lead back to common ground the principles and findings of the different social sciences.

In Italy at the present we are certainly nowhere near recognizing the necessity for gathering together, comparing, and unifying the results of specialized analyses. ...

To exemplify what is needed, the sociologist, the economist, the statistician, the economic historian, etc., should work with the

urban planning expert to solve the problems inherent in devising a master plan; the pedagogue, the specialist in cultural traditions (or the cultural anthropologist), the social psychologist, the consumption sociologist should collaborate in the study of the problems of leisure time; the study of the family will unite social psychology (of parent-child relations, etc.) and the socio-economic analyses of family budgets and consumption; and so on. Only when the data accumulate and the generalizations become plausible, will systematization and didactic transmission be permitted the particular discipline.

2. What has just been said brings us to the next question, that of rapport among academic and practical circles. We will avoid discussing here the rupture between the university and social reality, which is so well-known and gangrenous that it could poison much more than some well-intentioned magazine articles. Here we speak only of a particular point. Social knowledge, i.e., the data of knowledge of society, albeit at a level hardly more profound than the journalistic one previously mentioned, are today in Italy the almost exclusive property of persons who have responsibility or who in some way are invested with authority, such as politicians, organization directors, administrators, syndicalists, welfare workers, certain professionals and the like (and, we would add, commissioners of public safety and police officials!), or those who keep in close touch with them.... To form an association of social sciences without taking into account such a well-known circumstance would be ridiculous and futile. On the other hand, to try to gather together all the "social operators," or even a part of them, clearly makes no sense.

If the obstacle cannot be surmounted by recourse to legislation, or by university policies, it should be up to the Association to orient

all its activity toward solving the problems posed by such a situation. Thus conventions, symposia, various activities, should aim to assemble, compare, select, translate, and publish the data of the innumerable experiments which have no counterparts--or have them only at another level of abstraction--in the disciplines or established courses of study.

3. And lastly, a problem parallel to the preceding, but more acute, perhaps, in personal relations, the cross purposes of researchers and theoreticians.

The primary need, we have seen, is to regroup the ever-increasing number of those engaged in research activities on contemporary Italian culture, if for no other reason than that they are the ones who require most the network of common, widespread services that an association ought to be able to offer, who need these services to aid them in the hundreds of practical difficulties they encounter constantly.

But alongside the phenomenon of this montee d'en bas of the past few years, a parallel "aristocratic" interest in social problems on the part of persons and circles of a variously humanistic hue has developed. It is typical of a country in which sociology does not yet have the status of an independent science, but is merely one among other social sciences, that vague and diffuse murmurs of a sociological nature should appear in certain strata of constituted philosophical culture, mingled however with screaming execrations against the notorious encyclopedic sociology of 18th-century memory. Something similar is happening, for example, in Yugoslavia, where the corresponding association, founded a few months ago, and its magazine call themselves Sociology and Philosophy (but the maidservant in this case is probably philosophy, who is trying to change masters).

Let us promptly add that our situation would be a very positive

one if it contained the possibility of furthering research with the steady support and in the framework of critical theory and of specialized methodological instrumentation. It would spare Italian sociology the violently liberating but also purely polemic phase of the down-to-earth, go-to-the-field trend which has long characterized American sociology. Synthesis of the two necessities seems to be off to a good start in the new German sociology, where the activity of groups such as that of Koenig, of Schelsky, or of the Institute at Frankfurt (Horkheimer, Adorno, Pollok) moves along continuously with constant attention to general theoretical problems, but principally engaged in well-organized, unprejudiced, concrete research. The two requirements are also plain in the activity of the new French sociology, particularly the groups at the Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, organized around Friedman, Stotzel and Chombart de Lauwe....

Should we not, to conclude with the philosophers, remember Dewey?

Knowledge, for the experimental sciences, means a certain kind of action intelligently conducted; it ceases to be contemplative and becomes in a real sense practical. Now this implies that philosophy must either break completely with the authentic scientific spirit or change her nature. She must become practical, operative and experimental.

Or that other passage from Reconstruction in Philosophy that is even more pertinent to the present case:

The habit of initiating discussion of social matters in terms of conceptual generalities results in a stupefying waste of mental energy. A biologist and a physician would not get very far if, in beginning

consideration of the problem of respiration, they limited themselves to arguing back and forth the concepts of organ and organism; if, for example, one school insisted that respiration can be known and understood as an individual phenomenon since it occurs in an individual body, while the opposite school insisted in saying that it is simply a function in organic relationship with others and that therefore it can be known and understood in relationship with other functions, taken in an equally general and total sense. Both propositions are equally true and equally futile. What we need is specific researches.

Finally, what is the basic scope of an association of this type? Perhaps it is easily synthesized in these words: encourage institutionalization of scientific activity in the given field. This does not mean simply exerting pressure to increase the number of professorships in sociology and other social sciences. To be sure, it includes this, as it also includes the problem of the public organization of scientific research. And it likewise means that everything necessary must be done to prepare the ground socially for the reception of research activities, so that research workers will not too often have the door slammed in their faces in their dealings with factories, business offices, etc. But there is a deeper sense in which we need institutionalization. If we were to offer a sociological criterion--aside from principles of organization of methodology--for the scientificness of a piece of research work

or study, we should say that science is present when (a) there exists a certain degree of agreement on terminology, that is, when a person uses certain key terms he is fairly sure that a certain number of other persons use and understand them in the same sense; (b) a worker in a given field can have access readily to all other work done in his field; (c) there exists consequently a guarantee (academic in character, either of status or of prestige) of public acceptance, organized in some manner, of the communication of scientific findings. After all, it is the recognition and public organization of the communication of research findings that distinguishes science from alchemy. We mention in passing that a few social sciences have not yet crossed this threshold.

Of course, not all of this can be expected from an association.... In practice, the Association's services might extend from collecting biographies and organization of archives to census-taking (already under-way) of research workers, of centers and institutes of research; to current information and hence to coordination of research in progress; to the organization of groups to stabilize terminology (after the example of UNESCO, with which contact might be made); to promoting specialist or interdisciplinary conventions; and lastly to the organization of international relations (the AISS has already begun work on organizing, in collaboration with the Center for Social Prevention and Defense, the next world congress of sociology for 1959).

Modest services, perhaps, but essential and urgent ones if the enthusiasm and labor of many workers are not to be spent in vain.

7. THE GAME BAG

All readers and friends of PROD who may be at the American Political Science Association Convention at St. Louis in September are cordially invited to an informal gathering or "cocktail party" in Room #9 of the Sheraton Jefferson Hotel, where the Convention is being held. A financial accounting of PROD's first year will be distributed, and everyone's ideas on content, programming, etc., will be welcomed. Scheduled time is 5 P.M. Friday, September 5, when the Association will be having no competing affairs.

PROD's staff has indulged in its own fling at research. A count was made of the journal sources of items in PROD's bibliography (since January, 1958; a total of five issues of PROD), which is culled from 132 journals. These are the results:

American Political Science Review	20 entries
American Sociological Review	11 entries
Western Political Quarterly	10 entries
Public Opinion Quarterly	9 entries
Journal of Social Psychology	8 entries
American Journal of Sociology; British Journal of Sociology; Journalism Quarterly; Midwest Journal of Political Science; Neue politische Literatur; Social Research	7 entries each
Administrative Science Quarterly; Journal of Politics; Social Forces	6 entries each
Revue Française de Science Politique	5 entries
American Anthropologist; Australian Journal of Politics and History; Behavioral Science; Fortune; International Social Science Bulletin; Personnel Administration; Economic Development and Cultural Change; Political Studies; Review of Economics and Statistics	4 entries each

Individuals and libraries interested in political research bibliographies may find this count a guide to the more useful journals.

One of PROD's articles found its way into an interesting little publication by Baker Library of the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, called "E" (The Executive: A Guide to Reading for Top Management). "E" abstracts articles, carries book reviews, and presents news and bibliography. It is an excellent job that might well be emulated by one or more librarians in charge of political science collections, probably with the help of a local political science department.

While wandering through the corridors of the U. S. Information Agency in Washington recently, the editor noticed several conspicuously displayed signs reading "Limit Access to Those Who Need the Information." Intrigued speculation produced two worthy progenitors: Arrid's "Don't be half-safe," and Ex-lax's "Not too strong, not too mild, just right." Why not simply "Limit Access"?

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8. Legal Sanctions in Legislative Policy-Making

Analysis of sanctions aimed at diagnosing the nature of the problem that is encountered in the effort to effect changes by law has satisfactorily identified alternative control devices available. But the problem of the capabilities of various available control devices has been slighted as much by behavioral science as by the legal profession. The Association of American Law Schools will hold a Round Table Council on Legislation to attend to the improvement of insights and methods for designing legislative remedies, through joint consideration by social scientists and the legal profession.

A proposal that "there ought to be a law" about something posits the belief that certain changes in the order of things are desirable enough to justify using the power of government in an effort to accomplish them. Original suggestions for legislative action generally are almost exclusively concerned with the ends or results to be achieved. Only rarely are they accompanied by any well-formed notions about what kinds of legal arrangements would be apt to be the most effective means to achieve the objectives desired. It almost seems as if people think law has some kind of magical properties which enable the mere say-so of a legislative fiat to transform human behavior in some more or less automatic fashion. Of course there may be some people who will conform to standards of behavior established by society as legal norms irrespective of what consequences the law may prescribe for nonconformity, at least if the advantages to be gained by nonconformity are not overwhelming. For example, a legislative declaration that a certain date is to be known as "flag day" and that flags should be displayed on that date may achieve a significant amount of compliance even if no penalty is prescribed for failure to comply. And a statute which does no more than to pronounce that playing golf on Sunday is "prohibited" might be expected to inhibit some people enough to reduce somewhat the amount of Sunday golfing. But as the advantages to be realized by deviation from a legally established norm of behavior increase, the

ideal of being a law-abiding citizen can be expected to become less and less effective as a sanction. Most people are calculating enough that on matters of a serious nature affecting substantial interests the extent of law compliance depends, significantly even if only partly, on what the law directs to be done about noncompliance.

It should be evident, therefore, that intelligent choice of the most efficacious legislative remedy to achieve a given result is a central part of legislative policy-making. Even so, remarkably little systematic study appears to have been given to the "means" aspect of policy formulation. Many persons, including more than a few legislative draftsmen, appear to assume that in order to control behavior by operation of law the natural thing to do is to declare certain conduct criminal and provide for punishment by fine or imprisonment of those who engage in such conduct. There may be some doubt whether we have progressed very far during the time since Bentham commented that with respect to the question of "what means shall be adopted to prevent injurious actions, the first answer which presents itself to everybody, is this: 'Forbid those actions; punish them.'" (Bentham, The Theory of Legislation (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1950/7.) For example, in a State where abuses in the small loan business were making the cost of credit excessively high for many people, a lawyer who was retained to draft

legislation to remedy those abuses responded with a bill which made the charging of usurious rates of interest a felony subject to as much as ten years in prison. When confronted with the skeptical inquiry as to whether officials might refuse to prosecute and juries refuse to convict under such a severe penalty, his answer was a shrugging disavowal of responsibility for the possible failure of prosecuting officials and juries to perform their duties. This may be an extreme example, but it is probably true that an absence of awareness of alternative control devices among which to choose is comparatively general. Routine adoption of a stereotyped sanction is not, however, the most intelligent method of developing legislative policy.

Legal scholarship has given but scant attention to the problems involved in the selection of legislative sanctions, and the amount of space devoted to them in the literature of the law is skimpy. Bentham supplied an early cue for scholarship on the subject of sanctions when he pointed out, in The Theory of Legislation, *supra*, that besides the direct method of combatting offences by punishment, results can be accomplished with "indirect means... which... act upon man physically or morally, to dispose him to obey the laws, to shield him from temptations, to govern him by his inclinations and knowledge." Bentham's cue was largely ignored, however. The cue was forcefully repeated in 1916 in an address by Roscoe Pound, then Dean of the Harvard Law School, on the subject of The Limits of Effective Legal Action (published in Am. Bar Assn. J., Vol. III, p. 55). After noting certain "intrinsic limitations" resulting from (1) difficulties of proof, (2) "the intangibility of some duties," (3) "the subtlety of modes of seriously infringing some kinds of important interests," (4) the fact that people do not respond well to legal control with respect to some kinds of relationships, such as the marital

one, and (5) "the necessity of appealing to individuals to set the law in motion," Dean Pound described the challenge which these limitations present for legislative policy-making, as follows:

Much advance has been made of late in the art of drafting legislation and in the study of comparative legislation. But in an age of legislative law-making much more is required. The life of law is in its enforcement. The common-law rule came into being through enforcement and application and the situations that brought about its existence determine its life. The statutory rule, on the other hand, is made a priori. It is not necessarily a living rule when it is put upon the books. Occasion to apply it judicially may not arise till long afterward. Moreover it is an abstract rule and the situation that led to its existence goes rather to its interpretation than to its validity as a rule. Hence it is not enough for the law-maker to study the form of the rule and the abstract justice of its content. He must study how far cases under the rule are susceptible of proof. He must study how far by means of his rule he may set up a tangible legal duty capable of enforcement objectively by legal sanctions. He must consider how far infringements of his rule will take on a palpable shape with which the law may deal effectively. He must study how far the legal machinery of rule and remedy is adapted to effect what he desires. Last, and most of all, he must study how to insure that someone will have a motive for invoking the machinery of the law to enforce his rule in the face of the opposing interests of others in infringing it.

Dean Pound's cue was picked up better than Bentham's, and several thoughtful papers on the

subject have subsequently appeared. See Cohen, "Positivism and the Limits of Idealism in the Law," 27 Columbia Law Rev. 237 (1927); Dickinson, "Legislation and the Effectiveness of Law," 17 A. B. A. J. 645 (1931); Radin, "Solving Problems by Statute," 14 Ore. L. Rev. 90 (1934); and Taesch, "Sanctions in a Democratic Society," 2 J. Soc. Phil. 195 (1937). But most of the scholarship that has gone into the study of sanctions up to now has been of the analytical variety, aimed at diagnosing the nature of the problem that is encountered in the effort to effect changes by law. Analysis has satisfactorily identified the various alternative types of control devices available, including compensatory liability, manipulation of the procedures of law administration, manipulation of the process of proof, manipulation of legal status and relationships, and techniques of inducement such as rewards and propaganda, as well as penal liability. It has also recognized some of the evident limitations in the capacities of various control devices to achieve results. And social implications of the choice of means have been noted (Taesch, "Sanctions in a Democratic Society," supra):

Sanctions may be judged in various ways. One may arrange them in the order of their efficacy and base thereon a science of society or of government. One may arrange them on the basis of some value standard, such as social desirability, and thereby evaluate the societies or social organizations which characteristically employ the respective types....

In proportion as a social sanction enlists the cooperation of the individual in social objectives, to that extent does it achieve the social objective of a democracy, namely, the enhanced position of the individual in society. This pragmatic feature of the problem of sanctions thereby becomes

identified with functional factors of a social organization, no matter how ideally conceived. The science of government has become well advanced in our day. But the problems which constitute the art of government in a democratic society are but beginning to be appreciated; and among these problems, not the least is the nice sense of discrimination which leads to a wise choice of the sanction appropriate to the situation.

Not much has yet been done, however, either to assay the capabilities of various available control devices or to apply the insights and methods of the behavioral sciences to the task of evaluating their relative capabilities in specific situations. "How empiric the process is of adjusting remedy to policy" in the prevailing state of the art was recognized by Justice Frankfurter in a judicial opinion in a case in which the United States Supreme Court upheld a State law which exempted agricultural cooperatives from liability for penalties which were imposed on combinations of other persons to fix prices of retail commodities (*Tigner v. Texas*, 310 U. S. 141, 60 S. Ct. 879 [1940]):

How to effectuate policy--the adaptation of means to legitimately sought ends--is one of the most intractable of legislative problems. Whether proscribed conduct is to be deterred by qui tam action or triple damages or injunction, or by criminal prosecution, or merely by defense to actions in contract, or by some, or all, of these remedies in combination, is a matter within the legislature's range of choice. Judgment on the deterrent effect of the various weapons in the armory of the law can lay little claim to scientific basis. Such judgment as yet is largely a prophecy based on meager and uninterpreted experience....

Legislation concerning economic combinations presents peculiar difficulties in the fashioning of remedies. The sensitiveness of the economic mechanism, the risks of introducing new evils in trying to stamp out old, familiar ones, the difficulties of proof within the conventional modes of procedure, the effect of shifting tides of public opinion--these and many other subtle factors must influence legislative choice. Moreover, the whole problem of deterrence is related to still wider considerations affecting the temper of the community in which law operates. The traditions of a society, the habits of obedience to law, the effectiveness of the law-enforcing agencies, are all peculiarly matters of time and place.... Differences that permit substantive differentiations also permit differentiations of remedy....

Intelligent selection of sanctions, or means to procure legislative ends, depends on the ability to predict how human behavior would be affected by different sanctions that might be employed. On the face of it, this gives the behavioral sciences at least concurrent jurisdiction of the problem. Yet, except for extensive preoccupation of sociologists with the system of penal sanctions, the problem appears to have been slighted as much by the behavioral sciences as by the legal profession. Generally when sociologists have interested themselves in law at all, their interest has been occupied with broad questions about the function of law as a social institution. Even where the relevance of the social sciences in law-making processes has been perceived, their role has been viewed mostly as that of ascertaining facts pertinent to whether there ought to be a law or what ends the law should seek to achieve instead of how to do it. Some of the writings have remarked the existence of a job for the social sciences to predict what

effects the law will have. (See Sorensen, "Sociology's Contribution to Legislative Policy Determination," American Sociological Review, XVI, 239; and Merton, "The Role of Applied Science in the Formation of Policy: A Research Memorandum," Philosophy of Science, XVI, 161.) But generally when social scientists have addressed themselves to the problem of applying their expertise to assist in the specific task of policy-making they, like everyone else, have tended to become largely preoccupied with the great problems of ends instead of the concrete practical problems of means. Or they have been concerned about whether law is effective as an instrument of social control instead of how effective carefully chosen legal sanctions can be to accomplish specific results. (See Davis, "The Treatment of Law in American Sociology," Sociology and Social Research, XLII (1957), 99.)

A Round Table Council on Legislation of the Association of American Law Schools believes that it is time for both law and the social sciences to attend to the improvement of insights and methods for designing legislative remedies. It also suspects that an important reason why this has been no more attended to previously is the separation that has existed between the two disciplines having concurrent jurisdiction. It is therefore endeavoring to arrange for joint consideration of the problem in a round table program on the occasion of the next annual meeting of the Association. The Council conceives that mutual advantage should be realized by acquainting social scientists as to how the problem looks to those who are engaged professionally in the design of legislative sanctions, and by making the legal profession aware of what resources the behavioral sciences can supply to the task. It is hoped that some consideration of the extent to which social science insights and methods lend themselves to practical appli-

cation in this field might generate useful ideas about possibilities for joint socio-legal research.

Since, as has been noted, the extant literature gives very little evidence of work already done in this field, the Council would be pleased to find out about persons interested in the subject. It would also be especially interested to learn about any research, using opinion surveys, experimental pilot regulatory programs, comparative before-and-after analyses of the ef-

fects of different kinds of treatment accorded to a common problem in different places or at different times, or other comparable techniques to predict the probable efficacy of projected legislative remedies that may have been carried out. Communications may be addressed to the Chairman of the Council.

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Chairman, A. A. L. S. Round
Table Council on Legislation
Box 1652
University, Alabama

9. Label Thinking and the Supreme Court: A Methodological Note

By combining three indices measuring justices' attitudes toward change, one can make generalizations about the position occupied by a justice on the courts on which he sat.

It has been the fashion for some time now to apply labels with political and philosophical connotations to Supreme Court justices. Such labels as "left," "right," "liberal," and "conservative" are widely used and various inferences, speculations and conclusions are based upon them. And yet few have a clear idea of the meaning of these words for virtually no attention has been devoted to terminological analysis.

The best-known "labeler" of Supreme Court justices is Professor C. Herman Pritchett of the University of Chicago. Professor Pritchett has made significant contributions to the understanding of judicial behavior by analyses of voting patterns of individual justices in non-unanimous decisions. Pritchett's most common technique is to arrange the justices by name in tabular form so as to show the participations of and agreements among particular justices in dissenting opinions by terms of court. By use of this method identification of blocs or alignments of justices is made.

The blocs are then characterized as being left, right or center of the Court or as constituting liberal or conservative groupings.

Professor Pritchett has made good use of a relatively effortless method of ascertaining groupings and alignments of justices in terms of inter-unit cohesion. Beyond this the tabular compilations tell us very little. Without additional data, further characterization of groupings originally identified on the basis of cohesion data can only occur in terms of group core-values imposed upon the data by its manipulator. This is not to imply objection to such a technique; one does not object to the inevitable. But conscious attempt should be made to give precise content to the expressions which encompass these core-values. This short paper sketches a method whereby this goal may be accomplished.

It is assumed that resistance to change is a common-sense definition of "right" or "conservative" while readiness to accept change

defines "left" or "liberal." Thus our terminological content is furnished by attitude toward change. As applied to judicial behavior the problem is to ascertain judicial attitudes in this area. The justice opposed to change may be characterized as "right"; the justice favorable to change may be characterized as "left."

Determination of judicial attitudes in this subject matter area may be made from overruling case statistics. In every case in which a precedent is overruled the individual justice is presented with a choice. He may vote with the majority to overrule the precedent or he may vote in dissent to uphold the precedent. The way in which he makes this choice bears directly on his attitude toward change. For to uphold the precedent is to vote for the status quo; to overrule the precedent is to disturb the status quo. Thus one would proceed to identify every overruling case occurring from 1789 to the present. The justices participating in each such case would be noted. The vote of each justice for or against the precedent would be tallied. With this data a preliminary index may be established reflecting the extent to which each justice was inclined to overrule or uphold the precedents at issue. The justices would be ranked on the basis of the ratio of total dissents of each to the total votes of each. This ratio would be considered as a preliminary score.

A second preliminary score would be derived from a determination of the ratio of the terms in which a justice voted for the precedent to the terms voting. This would require the identification of each term in which a justice participated in an overruling case as well as the identification of each term

in which he cast a dissenting vote. Again the justice may be ranked in terms of this score.

A third preliminary score would reflect the extent to which the behavior of the justice was consonant with that of his majorities in overruling cases in each term in which he cast a dissenting vote. To derive the third score requires identification not only of the terms in which a dissenting vote was cast but also the ratio of the dissenting vote to the affirmative vote in each such term. Again the justices may be ranked according to score.

At this point we have three indices to attitude toward change on the part of individual justices. The first is a measure of deviant behavior in total overruling cases. The second is a measure of deviant term behavior in total terms participating. The third is a measure of the average extent of deviant behavior in those terms in which it occurred. Either one of these measures may be used to rank and to classify the justices in terms connoting political and philosophical inclinations. If so used the particular variable and context of the classification should be made clear. But by combining the three preliminary scores and ranking the justices accordingly we produce an index that transcends the discrepancies of the preliminary indices. This final index would then enable us to generalize in respect to the position occupied by a justice on the courts on which he sat during his entire career. This procedure, it is submitted, would be an improvement upon less systematized methods which draw from cohesion data inferences connoting political and philosophical dispositions.

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10. Of Time and the Textbooks

Is the latest textbook necessarily the most up-to-date? Twelve new (since mid-1956) textbooks on basic national government were found to contain little or no reference to two new developments of some import. The author concludes that the latest text provides instructors with no reliable substitute for individual initiative in keeping informed.

Social scientists generally use the latest textbooks. It is assumed that there is an advantage in a book of recent vintage--that the latest material is included in the latest book. This assumption seemed worth testing, albeit in an unscientific and comparatively unsystematic way.

Two items of information were selected as tests of the time lag inherent in the publishing process. Without thought of praise or blame it was assumed that some advantage would result from such an investigation of inclusion of material in recent textbooks. Two basic items of different levels of specificity were chosen as tests.

One item was a very specific, low-level datum. The Supreme Court of the United States has traditionally met on Saturday for a conference date. Beginning with the fall of 1955 the Court changed this practice and began to meet for its conference on Friday. This was announced on June 6, 1955. (See 349 U. S. 971 [1955].) Since the Court had traditionally met on Saturday and had been doing so for a number of years, the item was well publicized in the newspapers and even in scholarly publications.

The second item was a more challenging and basic one. Robert Brown has now published two books in which he presents his interpretation of the colonial period. One of them, Middle-Class Democracy in Revolutionary Massachusetts, was a prize-winning book selected by the American Historical Association. The other is a direct challenge to Charles Beard and his economic interpretation of the

Constitution. Both works form a compact patterned whole and are part of Brown's fundamental re-evaluation of colonial and revolutionary America. It is Brown's contention that, in fact, the colonial period saw no great extremes of wealth and poverty, but rather that it was a middle-class society in which most men owned property. In line with this and as essentially proving his thesis, Brown contends that the right to vote in the revolutionary period was much more widely distributed than has been usually assumed. The property requirements that are made so much of in most writings were, according to him, nominal and reasonable ones that could be met by most people in this middle-class society. Mr. Brown thus challenges not only the Beard thesis, but also the works of A. M. Schlesinger, Sr., and F. J. Jameson, as well as the writings of A. E. McKinley. The crux of Mr. Brown's argument hinges upon his contention that demographically only from nineteen to twenty per cent of the population were adult males. Thus the estimates that 12-18% of the population could vote meant that up to 90% of the adult white males were franchised.

Although Brown is an historian, his works were fairly widely reviewed and evaluated. He received a rather unusual compliment, for example, in having his two books reviewed back-to-back in The American Political Science Review in December of 1956. Certainly an argument that from eighty to ninety per cent of the adult white males could vote in the post-Revolutionary period is a challenging one and one that compels at-

tention by the political scientist.

Twelve textbooks on basic national government were selected as the sample for this study. They included the most recent version of the texts by the following: Bailey and Associates; Binkley and Moos; Bruce; Burns and Peltason; Carr and Associates; DeGrazia; Ewing; Ferguson and McHenry; Gosnell and Associates; Maxey and Fluno; McCamy; and Young's Ogg and Ray. These included all basic textbooks available at the time of the inquiry and all but one of those currently advertised in The American Political Science Review. All books chosen had a copyright date of 1956 or beyond, and others indicating that they had been written in the early part of 1956 were not considered.

Of the even dozen textbooks, nine still discussed Saturday as the conference date for the Supreme Court, two had no mention of the time of conference, and only one had correctly stated the date as Friday. The text that included the Friday date was not the latest book in time.

A further issue developing out of the study of the conference was the indication that, in book after book, the discussion of the Supreme Court's conference was a rather close paraphrase of an article by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., which had appeared in Fortune magazine some time ago. Since Schlesinger's article was highly interpretative, the point of view expressed by him also tended to be reflected in these treatments. Fully half of the textbooks thus had been treating the Court in the terms set by Schlesinger's article.

More interesting is the failure of any textbook to wholly absorb the material in Brown's two books. Only one textbook of our twelve mentions Brown at all, and this only as a direct confrontation by Brown of the Beard thesis. No book includes Brown's data on voting behavior. To be sure, of the twelve textbooks only six deal directly with history

and historical statements on voting. A number of others do have generalized statements (mostly on the order of quotations from people of the time rather than statistics on voting), and thus they might find the Brown material not directly relevant to their own treatment. On the other hand, half of the books do have statements with regard to the extent of voting and thus presumably should have found the material appropos.

In one instance an author did present the new information with regard to voting behavior in the teaching manual that was later prepared to accompany the textbook. However, since in the manual he gave no indication of the source of his correction, the statement could not serve as a stimulus to either teacher or student to further understand the implications of this new argument.

A check of four textbooks in American political parties published since 1956 also shows no inclusion of the Brown material, although three of the books had the results of previous research on this question.

Those works that included data on voting were scrupulously fair and, on the whole, extremely accurate in presenting the figures and in drawing no further conclusions from them than were justified by the facts as stated. In general they showed a very high level of scholarship in dealing with already established facts and interpretations. The inclusion of newer material apparently presented a more difficult problem, however.

Even where the author was a specialist in the sub-section of political science in which the item was relevant this proved no advantage in its inclusion in the textbook. This proved to be the case in both instances in our inquiry.

In sum, it would appear that the exigencies of book publishing and the flow of events is such that

no textbook can be assumed to incorporate even all of the leading changes of recent vintage in the field. In the end, the teacher must rely upon his information and knowledge to supplement the textbook. The time lag between manuscript and book, the time lag between event and incorporation is such that there is inevitable delay in bringing in new material. The task of covering an entire

field of learning is such that it is difficult to spot immediately those new items that bear upon the totality of the text as it exists and incorporate the material. In the end, the teacher must, through his own creative efforts, bear the responsibility of bringing to his students the newest and the best in modern research.

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- _____, "What Makes an 'Emotionally Stable' Executive?" Fortune, LVII (July '58), 116-17. Discusses emotional stability under the aspects of self-control, frustration-tolerance, maturity, insight into self; points out semantic problems along the way. 2nd of series.
- Talmon, J. L., "Social Prophetism in 19th-Century France." Commentary, XXVI (Aug. '58), 158-72. Development of Saint-Simonist socialism, and the roles played in it by Jewish intellectuals.
- Wallace, J. G., "The Tiv System of Election." J. of African Admin., X (Apr. '58), 63-70. The Tiv system is based on the principles of equality and patriarchy, but the latter in particular is degenerating under the impact of political modernization in Nigeria.
- Wang, Y. C., "The Intelligentsia in Changing China." Foreign Affairs, XXXVI (Apr. '58), 315-29.
- Weinberg, S. K. Culture and Personality: A Study of Four Approaches. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1958. (Paper.)
- Westley, B. H., "Journalism Research and Scientific Method: I." Journalism Q., XXXV (Spring '58), 161-69. An excellent survey of some of the methodology (or "strategy") of behavioral science especially as it compares with historiography. Good reading for students.
- Willmott, P., "Kinship and Social Legislation." Brit. J. of Soc., IX (June '58), 126-42. In Britain, although the family is not the isolated and rootless unit it is commonly thought to be, official recognition of kinship liability has shrunk, while official recognition of kinship dependency has slightly expanded. There is no consistent legal position.
- Yates, W. R., "Power, Principle, and the Doctrine of the 'Mouvement Républicain Populaire'." Amer. Pol. Sci. R., LII (June '58), 419-36. During first three years of movement's existence, Popular Republicans were driven by 2 incompatible aims: desire to spread ideals of Christian Democracy and desire for immediate electoral success.
- Zaidi, S. M., & M. Ahmed, "National Stereotypes of University Students in East Pakistan." J. of Social Psych., XLVII (2nd half), 387-95. Stereotypes of nine nationalities were obtained singly and in comparison; Americans were greatly favored over British and Russians. This is explained in historical terms.
- Zander, A., "Group Membership and Individual Security." Human Relations, XI (#2), 99-110. An essay on the properties of groups which have consequences for the happiness and security of members--feelings of hostility, attraction, self-respect.
- Boehm, G. A. W., "The New Mathematics." Fortune, LVII (June '58), 141-45. "The New Uses of the Abstract," Fortune, LVII (July '58), 124-27. Part I: Recent pure mathematics, incl. aesthetics, utility, physical reality. Part II: Applied, incl. probability theory, game theory, competition, distribution of profits, computers, education.

12. REVIEW:

The Moral Basis of a Backward Society

Edward C. Banfield (with the assistance of Laura Fasano Banfield)
(Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958)

Armed with some of the techniques of modern social science (forced choice questions, TATs and a predictive hypothesis) and fortified by an able use of materials traditional to community studies (conversations, perusals of collected social statistics, and the commission of a few diaries and family budgets), Professor Banfield has produced a cogent analysis "of the cultural, psychological, and moral conditions of political and other organization" in a Southern Italian village. His problem is to explain why in 'Montegrano' there is a dearth of organization. He rejects such usual explanations as poverty, ignorance, class antagonism, conservatism, distrust of the State, and fatalism, and offers instead the proposition that the Montegranesi act as if they are following the rule: "Maximize the material, short-run advantage of the nuclear family; assume that all others will do so likewise."

From this rule supposedly flows a number of logical implications of direct bearing on the question of organization. For example, with such an ethic, "no one will further the interest of the group or community except as it is to his private advantage to do so," "there will be few checks on officials, for checking on officials will be the business of other officials only," "the amoral familist who is an office-holder will take bribes when he can get away with it; but whether he takes bribes or not, it will be assumed by the society of amoral familists that he does," and "party workers will sell their services to the highest bidders."

lonely psychological jungle. He endures a life virtually unrelieved of *la miseria* in a universe whose benefits are rare and always capricious. His neighbors are suspicious, his friends non-existent, his living standard low, his children badly educated. In other words, the lack of organization that the extreme concern with the nuclear family induces rebounds rather quickly and severely to the disadvantage of the family itself.

The evidence that Banfield presents for his views is admittedly rather scanty. Of the approximately 106 quotations in the book more than a quarter are from members of but two families; and it was these two families that also kept the records of income and expenditure which the author cites. The TATs were given to 14 Montegranesi and none of the polls given in the book included more than 28 persons. More seriously, some of the evidence on crucial points can be subject to severe reservations. Thus, the only proof offered that ties in the nuclear family do not extend to the stem family is that after his marriage Prato and his half-sister "were on the worst possible terms" (p. 118). And yet we learn soon after that when Prato was a child this half-sister was greatly favored by his mother and she "bossed him with a stick" (p. 149). It is hard to believe that Prato would have felt the same way toward a full sister who had not beaten him; or, therefore, that there is no emotional sympathy within all extended families. With this and other cases in mind, one cannot consider his thesis completely proven.

As a result of this ethic the citizen of Montegrano lives in a

--Morris Davis
Princeton University

13. ET AL.:

CESARE BONESANA, MARCHESE DE BECCARIA:
An Essay on Crimes and Punishments¹

Introduction

If we look into history we shall find, that laws, which are, or ought to be, conventions between men in a state of freedom, have been, for the most part, the work of the passions of a few, or the consequences of a fortuitous, or temporary necessity; not dictated by a cool examiner of human nature, who knew how to collect in one point, the actions of a multitude, and had this only end in view, the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

Happy are those few nations, who have not waited till the slow succession of human vicissitudes should, from the extremity of evil, produce a transition to good; but, by prudent laws, have facilitated the progress from one to the other! And how great are the obligations due from mankind to that philosopher, who from the obscurity of his closet, had the courage to scatter amongst the multitude, the seeds of useful truths, so long unfruitful

Of the Interpretation of Laws

There is nothing more dangerous than the common axiom: the spirit of the laws is to be considered. To adopt it is to give way to the torrent of opinions. This may seem a paradox to vulgar minds, which are more strongly affected by the smallest disorder before their eyes, than by the most pernicious, though remote consequences produced by one false principle adopted by a nation.

Our knowledge is in proportion to the number of our ideas. The more complex these are, the great-

er is the variety of positions in which they may be considered. Every man hath his own particular point of view, and at different times sees the same objects in very different lights. The spirit of the laws will then be the result of the good or bad logic of the judge; and this will depend on his good or bad digestion; on the violence of his passions; on the rank and condition of the accused, or on his connections with the judge; and on all those little circumstances which change the appearance of objects in the fluctuating mind of man. Hence we see the fate of a delinquent changed many times in passing through different courts of judicature, and his life and liberty victims to the false ideas or ill humour of the judge; who mistakes the vague result of his own confused reasoning for the just interpretation of the laws. We see the same crimes punished in a different manner at different times in the same tribunals; the consequence of not having consulted the constant and invariable voice of the laws, but the erring instability of arbitrary interpretation.

The disorders that may arise from a rigorous observance of the letter of penal laws, are not to be compared with those produced by the interpretation of them. The first are temporary inconveniences which will oblige the legislator to correct the letter of the law, the want of preciseness, and uncertainty of which has occasioned these disorders; and this will put a stop to the fatal liberty of explaining; the source of arbitrary and venal declamations. When the code of laws is once fixed, it should be observed in the literal sense, and nothing more is left to the judge, than to determine whether an action be or be not conform-

1. An Essay on Crimes and Punishments (1st Italian edition 1764, 5th English edition London: printed for J. Bone, 1801.) Excerpts.

able to the written law. When the rule of right, which ought to direct the actions of the philosopher, as well as the ignorant, is a matter of controversy, not of fact, the people are slaves to the magistrates. The despotism of this multitude of tyrants is more insupportable, the less the distance is between the oppressor and the oppressed; more fatal than that of one, for the tyranny of many is not to be shaken off but by having recourse to that of one alone. It is more cruel, as it meets with more opposition, and the cruelty of a tyrant is not in proportion to his strength, but to the obstacles that oppose him.

Of the Proportion between Crimes and Punishments

The necessity of uniting in society being granted, together with the conventions, which the opposite interests of individuals must necessarily require, a scale of crimes may be formed, of which the first degree should consist of those, which immediately tend to the dissolution of society, and the last, of the smallest possible injustice done to a private member of that society. Between these extremes will be comprehended, all actions contrary to the public good, which are called criminal,

and which descend by insensible degrees, decreasing from the highest to the lowest. If mathematical calculation could be applied to the obscure and infinite combinations of human actions, there might be a corresponding scale of punishments, descending from the greatest to the least: but it will be sufficient that the wise legislator mark the principal divisions, without disturbing the order, lest to crimes of the first degree, be assigned punishments of the last. If there were an exact and universal scale of crimes and punishments, we should there have a common measure of the degree of liberty and slavery, humanity and cruelty of different nations.

Of the Advantage of Immediate Punishment

In general, as I have before observed, The degree of the punishment, and the consequences of a crime, ought to be so contrived, as to have the greatest possible effect on others, with the least possible pain to the delinquent. If there be any society in which this is not a fundamental principle, it is an unlawful society; for mankind, by their union, originally intended to subject themselves to the least evils possible.

14. EDITORIAL: Academic Impasse

If a professor were permitted to be a scholar and a gentleman he might spend his time like this: He would teach six hours a week and use twelve to prepare his presentations. He would keep abreast of the tide of literature by reading five books a month; two would be new books, three would be old; if he read thirty pages an hour, he would require about eleven hours a week for the task. Then twenty-five new and five old articles would need study each month, consuming seven hours a week. The New York Times and two weekly magazines would

take up about nine and a half hours. His creative literary work would consist of preparing syllabi and other instructional materials (one hour a week), and writing one article (250 hours), one book review (twenty hours), and about thirty pages (thirty days) of The Book, per year. Thus far our professor has used up 52-1/2 hours of the 168 hours in a week.

Since our professor's university is one of the best (viz. six hours of teaching), his additional duties are minimal. An hour a

week for MA and one-half hour for PhD students, one hour for grading papers, two hours in committee work, one hour for personal typing, one hour of extra appearances before students and outside groups, three hours visiting with students, and two hours of professional correspondence and activities. Our scholar has now given up sixty-four hours.

Today field research is important. Our professor--alone, with a colleague, with his students--would be engaged yearly in at least one small field research project leading to the publication of an article. Whether it is spread out or is concentrated in the summer, an average of five hours a week per annum will go into it. Our man's week is now sixty-nine hours long.

So far no gentleman he. But then he belongs to a church (two hours), spends time with his family (fourteen hours), reads "broadening literature" such as novels (one hour), and listens to music (one hour). He has to spend two hours in commuting. Being an active citizen takes another hour.

Recreation and two weeks of vacation had best be counted as substitutes for some of the tasks of the academic year, for we are already up to ninety hours a week. Perhaps the family will not feel neglected if some eating time is counted as family time. But still at least five eating hours must be added. Seven hours are not excessive for personal care, nor two hours for housework and one for gardening. We settle at 105 hours per week, leaving sixty-three hours for sleep and many other activities.

Under the circumstances, any interest he might have in the problems of leisure in modern society is academic and altruistic. So persistent are the extra non-scholarly demands, that only the rarest scholar can live on this minimum

intellectual level for more than a few years. Thus illness, romancing, raising infants, holding a government or private position, engaging in politics (including engaging in campus politics), heavier teaching loads (at eight schools out of ten), being a "pal" to the students, having an avocation or regular sport, army service, hyper-broad reading habits, and conviviality, will singly and together cancel out many years of an academic life.

Yet some minimum number of years, say ten, must go into this schedule or a better one in order to create a scholar, if he be such other than by fiat. Therefore, inevitably, only a platoon of men will be productive and informed scholars in a generation and these men must typically be so eccentric as to justify the populace's stereotype of the intellectual and scientist.

The highly touted planned society can hardly redeem the situation--as by wooing productive scholars into foundation and government jobs, or by convening endless committees to manage the planned reforms. The scholar himself can do much more, primarily by not trying to be a gentleman. He might also make himself repugnant to whoever steals his time--college committees, public officials, ladies' clubs, student social groups. (But so strong is the desire for charitable relations, that he may devote even more time to fringe groups composed of repugnant friends.) He might join a holy order, but God takes up more time than his wife would. He might form a bread-and-butter union to strike for higher pay and shorter hours, but this would be unscholarly. He might inherit or marry into a fortune; we highly recommend this step. But best of all is the policy of drift--let come what will come; a man can be decent and prosperous if his incompetency is in the order of things.

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